

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 0141

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: GOS OFFICIAL VIEWS PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC ORDER FORCES

AND PROBLEMS OF CENTRIST COALITION BUILDING

REFS: MADRID 9649, B. MADRID 9574

1. UNDER SECRETARY OF INTERIOR JOSE MIGUEL ORTI BORDAS, TOLD EMBOFFS JAN. 4 THAT THE POLICE DEMONSTRATIONS (REF A) HAD SERIOUS RAMIFICATIONS. RATHER THAN BEING THE WORK OF FAR RIGHT INFLUENCES OR SIMPLY THE RESULT OF BREAD AND BUTTER GRIEVANCES, THEY WERE THE WORK OF LEFTIST CELLS WITHIN THE CIVIL GUARD AND THE ARMED POLICE. ORTI BORDAS, A MODERATE, NOTED THE CLIMATE FOR THIS SORT OF THING HAD BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY THE BEHAVIOR OF FAR RIGHT SYMPATHIZERS IN THE POLICE HIERARCHY WHO HAD OVER THE YEARS TOLERATED AND ABETTED

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BREAKDOWNS OF POLICE DISCIPLINE ON BEHALF OF RIGHT WING CAUSES. HE CITED THE RATHER NOTORIOUS POLICE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST EX-PRIME MINISTER ARIAS AND AGAINST VARIOUS MINISTERS AT THE TIME OF FUNERALS OF POLICEMEN WHO HAD BEEN KILLED BY TERRORISTS. THE ARIAS GOVERNMENT, HE SAID, DID NOTHING. (AND, WE ADD, FRANCO TOLERATED IT BECAUSE IT DID NOT TOUCH HIM.) THUS IT WAS NOT SURPRISING THAT SMALL GROUPS OF LEFTISTS, (HE ASSUMED THEM TO BE PCE-

ORCHESTRATED) HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE CLIMATE OF INDISCIPLINE TO DO THEIR OWN THING IN THE POLICE.

2. THE DEMONSTRATIONS PRECIPITATED THE DISMISSALS OF THE POLICE LEADERSHIP, BUT THEY WERE IN NEED OF A SACKING. DESPITE HIS REPUTATION AS A TOUGH LEADER, LT. GENERAL CAMPANO WAS TOO FREQUENTLY EITHER HUNTING OR LISTENING TO CLASSICAL MUSIC AND HARDLY EVER TOOK AN ACTIVE HAND IN THE RUNNING OF THE CIVIL GUARD. THE MINISTRY OF GOVERNMENT NORMALLY DID BUSINESS WITH HIS DEPUTY. WHEN ORIOL WAS KIDNAPPED CAMPANO RETURNED RELUCTANTLY, AND WENT BACK TO HUNT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. WHEN THE GOS RECEIVED, THROUGH THE METROPOLITAN POLICE, RUMORS OF THE IMPENDING POLICE DEMONSTRATIONS, CAMPANO, THE HEAD OF THE ARMED POLICE AND EVEN THE HEAD OF THE DGS (GENERAL SECURITY DIRECTORATE) ALL ASSURED MARTIN VILLA THERE WAS NOTHING TO IT. AFTER THE DEMONSTRATIONS, THE RESPONSE OF THE POLICE INSTITUTIONS HAD BEEN THAT NO CRIME HAD OCCURRED. WHEN ASKED TO ARREST DEMONSTRATORS THE FOLLOWING MORNING, THEY BROUGHT IN THREE FROM THE CIVIL GUARD AND FOUR FROM THE ARMED POLICE: THE NEXT DAY, UNDER PRESSURE, THEY BROUGHT IN ANOTHER TEN APIECE. NOW SOMEWHERE NEAR 300 DEMONSTRATORS ARE IN JAIL (OUT OF THE PERHAPS 500 OR SO ESTIMATED TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE DEMONSTRATION).

3. MOST DEMONSTRATORS WERE MOTIVATED BY LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES, BUT THEY HAD BEEN USED. THE PROBLEM WAS TO IDENTIFY THE LEFT COORDINATING GROUP. THE GOS HAD LEADS BUT HAD NOT PINNED THEM DOWN ENTIRELY. HOWEVER, IT WAS AN ILL WIND THAT BLEW NO GOOD. NECESSARY CHANGES IN THE POLICE HIERARCHY HAD BEEN MADE, AND LT. GEN. IBANEZ WOULD DO THE CIVIL GUARD JOB AS WELL AS
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ANYONE COULD. DEMONSTRATORS HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND HE ASSUMED AN EFFECT UPON THE POLICE AND UPON THEIR SUPERIORS, WHO WOULD LEARN THAT THEIR CAREERS WERE IN JEOPARDY SHOULD THEY CODDLE POLICE INDISCIPLINE. ALSO, THE INFLUENCE OF THE LEFT MIGHT HAVE GROWN UNDETECTED WITHIN THE POLICE HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THEIR PREMATURE SHOW OF FORCE, WHICH ORTI BORDAS THOUGHT WAS PROBABLY DUE TO THE DESIRE OF THE PCE TO STIR UP CONFUSION AS PART OF ITS CAMPAIGN TO GET SANTIAGO CARRILLO OUT OF PRISON.

4. TURNING TO THE POLITICAL SCENE, ORTI BORDAS, A REPRESENTATIVE, ALONG WITH HIS MINISTER, MARTIN VILLA, OF THE MODERNIZING, PROGRESSIVE WING OF THE FRANCO REGIME ESTABLISHMENT, SAID THAT HE AND LIKE-MINDED POLITICIANS IN THE GOVERNMENT WERE STILL IN A QUANDARY (REF B). THEY COULD DO NOTHING ABOUT A POLITICAL PARTY UNTIL ADOLFO SUAREZ MADE UP HIS MIND. SUAREZ HAD THE OPTION OF STAYING ABOVE THE BATTLE BUT ORTI BORDAS THOUGHT THIS DISTINCTLY UNWISE. SUAREZ NOW HAD GREAT ELECTORAL CLOUT. PRECEDENTS (EVEN IN THE ELECTIONS FOR THE SPANISH REPUBLIC CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY) SUPPORTED GOVERNMENT LEADERS STANDING FOR

OFFICE. NOT TO DO SO MIGHT HAZARD SUAREZ' POSITION AS PRIME MINISTER, SINCE A CENTER COALITION WITHOUT SUAREZ AS THE LEADER (EITHER STANDING FOR OFFICE OR THROUGH A PUBLICLY DISCERNIBLE WINK) WOULD NOT DO AS WELL AND FRAGA'S ALIANZA POPULAR WOULD BENEFIT. WITHOUT A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY THERE WAS NO WAY, ORTI BELIEVED, (REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE KING MIGHT THINK) FOR SUAREZ TO STAY ON AS PRIME MINISTER.

5. EACH MINISTER WAS COMING TO THE PRIME MINISTER WITH HIS OWN RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD ACT BASED ON THE POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL MINISTER. POLITICAL GROUPS WERE COURTING SUAREZ, EVEN THE ALIANZA POPULAR AND THE MODERATE LEFT OPPOSITION, THOUGH HE WAS SURE A SUAREZ-FRAGA ALLIANCE WAS IMPOSSIBLE. FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADER, HAD APPROACHED SUAREZ ABOUT LEADING AN ELECTORAL BLOC (WE NOTE FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ SAID NOTHING ABOUT THIS TO US BUT DID INDICATE THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT SUAREZ' RETENTION AS PRIME MINISTER (REF B).
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THE CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF UDE ALSO WANTED SUAREZ IN THE ELECTORAL GAME. IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC QTE TEAM UNQTE, GIL ROBLES DIDN'T COUNT BUT RUIZ GIMENEZ DID. EVEN RUIZ GIMENEZ, WHO HAD A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE ELCTIONS, WOULD SUPPORT SUAREZ' RETENTION AFTERWARDS. IF SUAREZ DECIDED TO STAY ABOVE THE BATTLE HE, ORTI BORDAS, WOULD RESIGN FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND GO TO WORK ON ORGANIZING WITH OTHERS A LIKE MINDED POLITICAL GROUP OF CENTRIST INSPIRATION. TIME WAS RUNNING SHORT, BUT HE THOUGHT IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR SUAREZ TO MAKE A DECISION UNTIL AFTER THE PROMULGATION OF THE ELECTORAL LAW AND RELATED RULES OF THE GAME (END OF JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY).

6. ON THE ECONOMY, ORTI BORDAS SAID HE KNEW A NUMBER OF PEOPLE, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, WERE ADVISING SUAREZ TO TAKE DECISIVE MEASURES NOW. HE PERSONALLY SUPPORTED SUCH ACTION. HE DOUBTED THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO ACT AFTER THE ELECTIONS THAN NOW. BUT HE SAW NO PRESENT EVIDENCE OF SUAREZ FOLLOWING THIS ADVICE. STABLER

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